

*The Gauhaṭī Copper-plate Grant of Indrapāla of Prāgyyōtiṣa in Āsām.*¹—By DR. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

(With Plates III-V.)

This grant was given to me by Mr. E. A. Gait, C.S., in September 1893. It is the property of a *Mandal* (*patwārī*) named Dhairjyanāth, and was found some thirty years ago by that man's relation Tanurām Dēkā (deceased), while breaking up for cultivation a piece of high land in the village Bar Pānārā, Mauza Pāti Darrang, District Kāmṛūp.

The grant consists of three copper-plates, which are joined together by a massive, pear-shaped ring. The ring passes through circular holes, in the middle of the narrower side of the plates; and attached to it is the king's seal.

Each plate measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by 6 inches. They were originally about $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, but they (especially the third) are now worn quite thin along their margins. The obverse of the first plate and reverse of the last plate are blank. The inscription, accordingly, covers only four sides of the plates. The first inscribed side bears 14 lines, the second and third, 15 lines each, and the fourth side has only 9 lines. The letters are as a rule $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long. They are clearly cut, though not very deep, and are very fairly legible, except just along the margins, where the metal is very much worn.

The seal is heart-shaped, measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ by 3 inches. Its area is divided into two parts, by a ledge running across it, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch high. In the triangular space, above the ledge, is placed the figure of an elephant, showing in very high relief every line and feature of its great bulk *en face*. The figure measures from the back ground to the edge of the frontal bone three-quarters of an inch. In the semi-circular compartment, below the ledge, is the inscription of the king's name, in letters of a size slightly larger than in the grant. Round the edge of the seal runs a raised rim, nearly one inch in height, very little

¹ On the three Plates read Indrapāla for Mahēndrapāla.

higher than the figure of the elephant, which is protected thereby. The whole looks just like a heart-shaped box, without a lid.

The language of the grant is Sanskrit. The formal part of the grant, describing the locality and its perquisites and boundaries, is in prose, *viz.*, lines 3–11 on the reverse of the second plate, and lines 1–9 on the obverse of the third plate. The remainder, detailing the genealogy of the donor and of the donee, is in verse.

The execution of the inscription is very slovenly and inaccurate. Not unfrequently one or two akṣaras are omitted *e.g.*, I,1b² *kiva* for *kitava*, I,4b *anta* for *ananta*, I,11b *sajjair* for *sasajjair*, I,10b *bhāri* for *bhārahari*, and elsewhere. Sometimes single letters are omitted. *e.g.*, I,10b *lakṣmāḥ* for *lakṣmyāḥ*, II,3a *samvadhā* for *sambaddhā*, II,5a *savvā* for *sarvvā*, and elsewhere. Once an akṣara is repeated, *viz.*, *tō*, in I,14b and II,1a; similarly there is a duplicate *u* in III,8a and III,9a; and there is a superfluous *y* in *vaṇṇyatye* in II,3a, and a superfluous *r* in *dhūmrair* for *dhūmair* in II,5a. Many more such inaccuracies of the scribe or the engraver are noted in the footnotes to the transliteration. Curiosities are *abhavata* for *abhavat* in II, 9a, *kalatravānām* for *kalatrāvān* II,9a and II,10a, *avan* for *abhavan* or rather for *abhūn*, II,1b, *pakṣaṣṭa* for *pakṣastha* in II,6b, *rakarana* for *sākārana* in II,7b (see footnote 11 to the translation), *vakṣēṇa* for *vakrēṇa* in III,3a, and the obscure, and probably blundered, *dakṣi pāṭṭau* in III,8a (see footnote 18 to the translation). Other anomalies of spelling may be due to provincial usage. Such are the occasional confusion of sibilants,³ as in *amusya* for *amuṣya* in II,1a, *ēsā* for *ēṣā* in II,15b, *kāṣī* for *kāsī* in III,5a, *atidisyatē* for *atidiṣyatē* in II,3a, and elsewhere; also the ligature of *m* with *v*, instead of anusvāra with *v*, or *m* with *b*; *e.g.*, *amvu* for *ambu* in II,5a, *prabhṛtīnām=vinivārīta* for *prabhṛtīnām vinivārīta* in II,11b, and elsewhere; and the confusion of *v* and *b* as in *Vrahma* for *Brahma* in I,6b, II,1a and *vabhūva* for *babhūva* in II,11a, and of *n* for *ṇ*, as in *tarāṅgiṇīnām* for *tarāṅgiṇīnām* in II,14a. Similarly due to provincial usage are occasional prakriticisms or vernacularisms, as *vīrjja* for *vīryya* in I,14b, *jaçās* for *yaçās* in II,1a, *Prāḡjyōtisa* for *Prāḡjyōtiṣa* in II,3b; perhaps also *āyācārasya* for *āryācārasya* in II,13b, and the omission of final *t* in *āsī* for *āsīt* in II,2b, and of final visarga before an initial *p* and *s*, as in *khaṭvāṅga* for *khaṭvāṅgaḥ* in I,1b, *Rati* for *Ratiḥ* in II,10a, and elsewhere.

² This means Plate I, line 1, reverse. *a*=obverse, *b*=reverse. And so on, in all references.

³ The confusion of sibilants, as Mr. Gait informs me, has reached its climax in modern Assamese, which uses *s* indiscriminately for *s*, *ṣ* and *ç*.

From the palæographic point of view the following particulars are worth noting. The η (guttural nasal) is formed with a ringlet, which is usually placed on the line (as in *khaṭvāṅga* I,1b, *Gaṅgā* I,2b, *brahmāṅga* I,6b, *bhujāṅga* I,6b, *paṅka* I,7b, *atitarāṅgiṇī* II,14a, *tuṅgē* II,1b), but twice it appears above the line, resembling the anusvāra (*viz.*, in *paṅka* I,5b, and *aṅkura* I,8b). It is not attached to the body of the letter, as is now the case in the modern Bengālī ঞ .

An *r* preceding a consonant is formed throughout above the line.

A final consonant is indicated either by the usual sign of the *virāma*, or a special modified form of the letter is used. Thus we have the *virāma* with final *t* in *āsīt* I,5b, and *abhavat* II,2a, and with final *n* in *yasmin* II,12a. In these cases the *virāma*-stroke is placed a little to the left of the foot of the consonant, and detached from it, the letter itself being of the usual size. More frequent, however, is the use of a special form for final *t*, *n* and *m*; *viz.*, for *t* it is the sign ᳚ , made of somewhat smaller size than the surrounding letters; for *n* it is the sign ᳛ , and for *m* the sign ᳜ , both made of the same size as the surrounding letters. Thus *t* in *āsīt* II,11b; *n* in *valīyān* I,13b, *janapadān* II,7b, *prabhṛtīn* II,8b, and *sarvvān* II,8b; *m* in *mudrām* I,7b, *sambhāvām* II,9a, *pāram* II,15a, *bhavatām* II,9b and *iyam* II,9b. It is worthy of note, that all these special final letters also occur in the Badāl pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, an excellent facsimile of which has been published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 160. Thus the same final *t* occurs there in *kiñcit*, line 24, the final *n* in *ṣrīmān*, l. 8 and 12, *sampītān* and *nidhīn*, l. 13, and final *m* in *amalam* l. 28. The final *m* appears to have been suspected by Professor Kielhorn, as he has enclosed it in brackets, but it is quite correct. A slightly different final form of *t* is more frequent, and occurs in *vidhivat*, l. 11, *abhavat*, l. 17, *avadat*, l. 21, *vyavṛṇōt*, l. 25, and *asmat*, l. 28. The origin of the curious form of the final *n* is in this wise: the *virāma* was attached to the middle of the right hand side of the perpendicular stroke of *n*, as clearly seen in the Badāl plate *ṣrīmān*, l. 8, 12; next the head-loop was added, as in our plate, to enable the whole letter to be drawn by one stroke of the pen. The latter, therefore, is a more cursive form.

The anusvāra is formed by a dot or ringlet, which is either placed above the line (as usually), or on the line. The latter is seen in *sannilīnām* I,7b, *vijayinām* I,14b, *taṁ* II,13a, *svarggaṁ* II,15a, *saṁ* II,9b, *vaṁṣa* III,4a.

The sign of *avagraha* occurs four times; *viz.*, in *'tipavitō* II,11b, *'ṣēsha* II,14b, *'ṣtamē* II,15b, also in III,1a after *kulaṁ* where it is out

of place, and where it may have been intended for the special sign of the final *m* which it resembles.

The grant is not dated; but an estimate of its age may be made from its palæographic characters. It presents a good example of the North-Eastern Nāgarī, at a time shortly preceding the establishment of the modern Bangālī. For the determination of the evolution of the latter, the *ṅ* and *r* are specially serviceable as test letters. In Bangālī the forms of *r* and *v* are practically identical; and, as above noticed, the ringlet which forms part of *ṅ*, is there attached to the body of the letter. The transition period from North-Eastern Nāgarī to Bangālī may be fixed as about 1050-1200 A. D. Two inscriptions of this transitional period are the Dēopāra Stone Inscription of the Bengal king Vijaya Sēna, about 1180-1190 A. D., and the copper-plate grant of Vaidya Dēva, king of Kāmarūpa, about 1142 A. D. Both inscriptions show the characteristic form of *r* (= *va*); and the Dēopāra inscription is the first to show the nasal *ṅ* with ringlet attached to the body of the letter.⁴ In our grant, the form of *r* is still the old one; and the position of the ringlet, as a mark of *ṅ*, is still quite unsettled. Altogether the appearance of the writing in it is much older; and it may, therefore, with some probability, be referred to about the middle of the 11th century A. D. (say, 1050 A. D.). This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of the initial forms of the vowel *i*. In our grant it is made by a circumflex surmounting two ringlets placed side by side (thus \tilde{o}); while in the inscriptions of Vaidya Dēva and Vijaya Sēna the circumflex is far more complicated.

In connexion with this, I may mention, that I have in my hands a copper-plate grant of Ratnapāla, lately sent to me by Mr. Gait.⁵ Ratnapāla, as will be noticed presently, was the grandfather of the Indrapāla of the Gauhaṭī grant. He appears to have had a rather long reign; he outlived his son Purandarapāla, and was succeeded by his grandson Indrapāla. His plate may be placed about 50 years earlier. In conformity herewith, the palæographic characters of his grant are decidedly older than those of the Indrapāla grant. Thus the consonant *kh* which, on the later grant, has practically the same form as in the modern Bangālī, shows in the Ratnapāla grant the older post-gupta form. Further the nasal *ṅ* is formed without any ringlet, according to the older fashion.

The present grant professes to be one of Indrapāla, king of Prāgyōtiṣa. His father is said to have been Purandarapāla, his grandfather

⁴ For further particulars, see Professor Bühler's "Indian Palæography" in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Alterthumskunde*.

⁵ This will shortly be published by me in this Journal.

Ratnapāla, and his great-grandfather Brahmapāla. Purandarapāla, however, appears to have died during the reign of Ratnapāla, the latter being succeeded directly by his grandson Indrapāla. This is quite clear from the recital in the actual grant (see 2nd plate, reverse, lines 4 and 5); but the circumstance would seem to have been fully explained in the 17th verse which unfortunately is mutilated beyond restoration. The death of the father (Purandarapāla) and the transmission of the throne to the grandchild (Indrapāla) is, however, indicated in the existing remains of the verse.

Beyond Brahmapāla the ancestry is carried, in direct line, though after an undefined interval, through Vajradatta and Bhagadatta to Naraka, who would seem (in verse 6) to be indicated as the founder of the town of Prāgjyōtiṣa. Naraka is said to have been the son of the god Hari, by the goddess Earth.⁶

The total ancestry, accordingly stands thus:—

- 1, Hari.
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta, son of No. 2.
- 4, Vajradatta, son of No. 3.
- 5, Undefined interval.
- 6, Brahmapāla of the line of No. 4.
- 7, Ratnapāla, son of No. 6.
- 8, Purandarapāla, son of No. 7 (died as prince).
- 9, Indrapāla, son of No. 8 (succeeded his grandfather Ratnapāla).

The first two names on this list are those of well-known mythical personages. The third and fourth may have some claim to be regarded as having a historical existence. Vajradatta is said to have belonged (v. 8) to the Kaumra dynasty. No dynasty of this name is otherwise known. Mr. E. A. Gait, who is the best authority on old Āsām history, writes to me:

“I do not know anything about the Kaumra dynasty, mentioned in verse 8. The name does not occur in any Buranji, Puthī, or tradition with which I am acquainted. Might not the reading be *Kaumāra*? The ruler of the country when Hiuen Tsiang visited it, was Kumāra Bhāskara Varma.”

The reading is certainly *Kaumra*, not *Kaumāra*, though as the grant is full of errors of spelling, it is not impossible that the correct name should be *Kaumāra*.⁷ Mr. Gait's suggestion has a certain plausibility. The date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit is 640 A.D. The date of our grant is about the middle of the 11th century (c. 1050 A.D.), and,

⁶ In this the copper-plate grants follow the Yōginī Tantra.

⁷ *Kaumāra*, however, would not fit the metre.

accordingly, that of Brahmapāla about 1000 A.D. There is thus an interval of about 360 years between Hiuen Tsiang and Brahmapāla; and it may have been somewhat longer. As will be shown presently, between Vajradatta and Brahmapāla there were twenty-one kings. At the rate of 20 years for a reign, these kings would take up 420 years, or at the rate of 15 years, 315 years. On the supposition, therefore, that the “Kaumra” line took its name from Kumāra Bhāskara of Hiuen Tsiang’s time, it seems quite possible to accommodate Vajradatta, who is said to have been of the Kaumra line, together with his twenty-one successors in the interval between Hiuen Tsiang and Brahmapāla.

But there is another interesting point in our genealogy, *viz.*, a curious discrepancy.

The usual Āsām tradition is that Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were brothers, both being the sons of Naraka, Bhagadatta apparently being the elder of the two, and he it was that succeeded his father on the throne of Prāgjyōtiṣa. See Mr. Gait’s paper on *the Koch Kings of Kāmarūpa*, in this *Journal*, Vol. LXII, p. 271. This account is borne out by the Tējpur copper-plate grant of Vanamāla published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, p. 766. According to it the genealogy runs thus:

- 1, Hari, the God.
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta, sons of No. 2.
- 4, Undefined number of kings of the line of Bhagadatta.
- 5, Sālastambha, of a new line of an undefined number of kings, ending with Çrī-Hariṣa.
- 6, Pralambha, said to be again of the line of Bhagadatta.
- 7, Harjara, son of No. 6.
- 8, Vanamāla, son of No. 7.

On the other hand, the Gauhati grant makes Vajradatta to be the son of Bhagadatta; and in this it is in agreement with the Now-gong grant of Balavarman.⁸ The genealogy, as given in the latter, runs as follows:—

- 1, Hari (called Upēndra).
- 2, Naraka, founder of Prāgjyōtiṣa, son of No. 1.
- 3, Bhagadatta, son of No. 2.
- 4, Vajradatta, son of No. 3.
- 5, Undefined number of kings of his line.
- 6, Sālastambha, of a new line.
- 7, Palaka, Vijaya and others, descendants of No. 6, occupying an undefined interval.

⁸ This is another Āsām copper-plate grant, brought to light by Mr. Gait, which will be published by me in a subsequent paper.

- 8, Harjara, of a new line.
- 9, Vanamāla, son of No. 8.
- 10, Jayamāla, son of No. 9.
- 11, Virabāhu, son of No. 10.
- 12, Balavarman, son of No. 11.

With No. 8, Harjara, a new dynasty commences: but here the Nowgong and Tējpur grants differ, the latter commencing this new dynasty with Harjara's father, Pralambha, whom the Nowgong grant ignores. Moreover the Tējpur grant seems distinctly to make Pralambha to belong to the (old, apparently restored) line of Bhagadatta. There is, however, in the genealogical wording of both grants sufficient looseness (probably intentional) to suggest the descensional connection of both the Sālastambha and Harjara (or Pralambha) lines with Bhagadatta.

In another point also these two grants differ. The Tējpur grant makes Bhagadatta to succeed his father Naraka, and omits all mention as to the further fortunes of his brother Vajradatta. On the other hand, the Nowgong grant makes Vajradatta to succeed his father Bhagadatta.

This matter of the relation of the kings and dynasties to one another is further complicated through the statements in the Ratnapāla grant. I have not as yet been able to thoroughly examine that grant, but so much seems to be clear from it, that Vajradatta was a brother of Bhagadatta (as against the Gauhaṭī and Nowgong grants), and that Vajradatta succeeded his *brother* Bhagadatta (as against the Tējpur grant, which knows nothing about Vajradatta's succession, and against the Gauhaṭī and Nowgong grants, which make him succeed his *father* Bhagadatta). Further the Ratnapāla grant fills up the undefined interval, No. 5 of the Gauhaṭī grant, by stating that after Vajradatta a chief (*adhipati*) of the Mlecchas took possession of the kingdom, and a line of twenty kings now followed, beginning with Çālastambha. The twenty-first of this line was Tyāga-sidha, who had no sons, and he was succeeded by Brahmāpāla, the father of Ratnapāla. From this account (if I have gathered it correctly) it would appear that the Pāla dynasty of Āsām followed the kings Nos. 5-12 of the Nowgong grant. The latter names eight kings, from Çālastambha down to Balavarman. There may have been descendants of the Harjara line after Balavarman, but, in any case, the grant allows a number of unnamed kings under No. 7. There is no difficulty, therefore, in accounting for the 21 kings, who are said, by the Ratnapāla grant, to have preceded Brahmāpāla. On palæographic grounds, too, there is a probability of the Çālastambha and Harjara lines having preceded the Pāla dynasty.

For palæographically the Nowgong grant is older than the Gauhaṭī grant, and very closely resembles the Ratnapāla grant. Thus, it does not use the ringlet of the nasal *ṅ*, and forms the consonant *kh* in the old fashion, older even than in the Ratnapāla plate. It also uses the same initial form of the vowel *i*, as the latter plate, *viz.*, a circumflex below two ringlets placed side by side (o_o), while the Gauhaṭī plate reverses that position. Accordingly the Nowgong plate and its author must have preceded the Gauhaṭī plate of Indrapāla. Whence it follows that, though the plate, palæographically, might be of the same age as the Ratnapāla plate, its author king Balavarman must be placed before Ratnapāla, and, therefore, also before Brahmapāla. Whence it further follows that the Harjara line of kings must have preceded the Pāla dynasty. For, to all appearances, they ruled over the same country of which Prāgjyōtiṣa was the capital.⁹

The Tējpur grant, being one of Vanamāla, the great-grandfather of Balavarman of the Nowgong grant, must be still older than the Pāla grants. Unfortunately it is not forthcoming, though Mr. Gait has made a careful search for it. From the specimen, published in this *Journal*, Vol. IX, the point of age is very difficult to determine, though there is nothing in it to suggest its being younger than the Nowgong or the Pāla grants.

Unfortunately none of these Āsām grants are dated. The palæographic guidance is, at best, uncertain and vague; but as it is, I am disposed to refer the Gauhaṭī plate to (say) 1050 A.D., the Ratnapāla plate to (say) 1010 A.D., the Nowgong plate to (say) 975 A.D., and the Tējpur plate of Vanamāla to (say) 925 A.D.

Another puzzle is that both lines, of Harjara (or Pralambha) as well as of the Pālas, trace their descent up to Bhagadatta, as if they were dynasties related to one another, and of the same tribe or race.

⁹ *Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipa* or 'lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa' is applied to all of them equally. So far as the land-grants which I have seen are concerned, the name Prāgjyōtiṣa is only applied to a town (*pura*), but not to a country. In the Nowgong grant Naraka is said to have conquered (the country of) Kāmarūpa and to have taken up his residence in the town (*pura*) of Prāgjyōtiṣa. There is nothing in the land-grants to show that Prāgjyōtiṣa had ceased to be the capital of the country in the time of either Balavarman or Indrapāla; in fact, the title "lord of Prāgjyōtiṣa" rather negatives that idea. At the same time, it would seem that Indrapāla ordinarily resided in the townlet (*nagarī*, see v. 19) Ṣrīdurjayā, which was a strong fort; while, according to the Nowgong grant, Balavarman appears to have ordinarily resided in Hārūppēçvara, which is described as his *paitāmaha kaṭuka* or 'ancestral camp.' I may add that, as Mr. Gait informs me, Prāgjyōtiṣa is represented by the modern town of Gauhaṭī; and that the modern Kāmṛūp is a district which forms only a small part of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa. See, however, *ante*, p. 104.

They also use the same emblem on their seals, a full-figure elephant, standing to the front. But the probability is that both dynasties are those of aboriginal tribal chiefs, who, aggrandizing themselves, adopted Hinduism and got invented for themselves a *quasi* Kṣatriya descent. All the genealogical details, therefore, before Brahma-pāla, Çālastambha and Pralambha (or Harjara) are unhistorical, the real lines commencing with those names. The lineage of Bhagadatta seems to have been a favorite one for the chiefs of Kāmarūpa to adopt. “The so-called Rājās of Rānī,” as Mr. Gait informs us (*Journal*, Vol. LXII, p. 272) also “claim to be descended from the lineage of Bhagadatta.”¹⁰

The preceding remarks, practically, dispose of the question of the connection of the Pālas of our grant with the Pālas of the well-known great Bihār and Bengal dynasty. On this subject, Mr. Gait writes to me as follows:—

“I do not think that there is any connection between the Pāla kings, mentioned in the Gauhaṭī grant and the great Pāla dynasty of Bengal. The inscription contains no reference to any known king of this dynasty; and the Pālas in the copper-plate claim descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta, the mythical Hindū progenitors of more than one of the royal families which formerly held sway in Kāmarūpa. Moreover they are described as Lords of Prāgjyōtiṣa, which is not a title claimed by any of the Pāla kings of Bengal, although one of them—Dēva Pāla—is said to have conquered Kāmarūpa. Lastly the title Pāla is a very common one not only amongst the kings of ancient Assam, but also of the Bārō Bhuiyās and others, *e.g.*, of the Brāhman to whom the land-grant mentioned in the plate under discussion was made.”

I fully agree with Mr. Gait.

Besides the four Āsām grants, referred to in the preceding remarks (*viz.*, the Gauhaṭī, Tējpur, Nowgong and Ratnapāla grants), there is known a fifth, *viz.*, the Benares grant of Vaidyadēva, published by Mr. Venis in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 347. Vaidyadēva was the prime minister of king Kumārapāla, of the great Bihār dynasty, who made his minister the tributary ruler of Kāmarūpa, in the place of the original ruler who had rebelled. Kumāra Pāla does not appear in the ordinary genealogical list of the Bihār Pāla dynasty. That list concludes with a king Vighraha Pāla III. But as Kumāra Pāla's own genealogy begins with a Vighrapāla, as the grandfather, and gives Rāma Pāla, as the father of Kumāra Pāla, Mr. Venis, with much probability, concludes the identity of the two Vighraha Pālas, and thus makes Kumāra Pāla to be the grandson of Vighraha Pāla III. The date of his grant is conjecturally fixed as 1142 A.D., placing it about one century later than the Gauhaṭī grant, which agrees well enough

¹⁰ For modern instances of fictitious genealogies, see page 83 (§ 46) of Mr. Gait's Report on the Census of Āsām, 1891.

with the difference in the characters used in the two grants, though they belong to two rather different varieties of Nāgarī.

I may here state, that I possess a very excellently written and illuminated copy of the *Ashta Sāhasrikā Prajñā Pāramitā*. It is dated in the 15th year of the reign of Rāma Pāla, on the 17th day of the dark half of Vaiçākha.¹¹ Unfortunately, as usual in Pāla inscriptions, there is no reference to any era. The letters are those of the MSS. Nos. 1464 and 1688, and the numerals those of Nos. 1643 and 1683 (in Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library), all dating in the 11th century (1015-1065). Occasionally the letters resemble those of No. 1693, dated 1165 A.D. The difference between the letters of these two sets is, on the whole, infinitesimal. As Mahipāla is supposed to have reigned up to 1060 A.D., Rāmapāla, third in descent from him, would, on the usual average of a 20 years' reign, have been on the throne, from about 1100 to 1120 or 1125, and this would well accord with the characters of my manuscript of his reign. Kumāra Pāla might have followed him from about 1125 to 1145 A.D.

As to the localities mentioned in the grant I can offer no identifications; indeed, I am not sure that I have understood all the terms correctly. Mr. Gait has been good enough to depute an officer to make local enquiries, but they have been unsuccessful. He says, however, that

“It has been suggested to me by Bābū Bhōlānāth Dās, Sub-Deputy Collector, that the Hāpyōma district may correspond to the Barama Taṣṣīl, and the hamlet of Kāsī may correspond to the three villages Nāth Kucī, Nau Kucī and Rana Kucī which aggregate some 5 square miles. A river flows to the west of these villages which is now known as Timu (Ti or Di is the Kachārī word for water or river, and is a common prefix in the names of rivers in Assam and E. Bengal) which would perhaps be the Digummā of the inscription. As regards the Mākhi path on the East, it may be noted that there are two villages rather more than a mile to the South of Rana Kucī which are known as Bar. Mākhibāhā and Khudra Mākhibāhā respectively¹², and it is possible that a road formerly led to them along the eastern boundary of Nau Kucī and Rana Kucī. Adjoining Rana Kucī to the S.-W. is the village of Ratanpur which may perhaps have some connection with Ratnapāla, but this may be only accidental as there are several Ratnapuras in the province. There is, however, no trace now of any tank to the North of Nau Kucī, nor of any embankment and pond to the North-East and South-West. No worship is now performed at Mākhibāhā, but a Çraddhā ceremony is performed every year in commemoration of the death of one Gaurī Nārāyan Chaudharī's father. This is known as the *Mākhibāhā-sabhā*.”

¹¹ See Dr. R. Mitra's edition of that work in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Introduction, p. XXIII.

¹² In order, however, to agree with the description in the grant, these two villages should lie to the North of Rana Kucī. For the Mākhi-path runs north-

TEXT.¹*First Plate : Reverse.*

- 1, Svasti | ² Khatvāṅga paraçur=v=vṛṣaḥ çaçi-kal=ēty-ādi³ tvadiyam
mayā sarvvasvam jitam=adya nāma kiva⁴
- 2, pratyarppitam⁵ tē punaḥ [1] prēṣyā kēvalam=astu mē jala-vahā
Gaṅg=ēti Gaurī-girā Çambhōr=dyūtaka-
- 3, lājitasya jayati vrīḍā-vinamram çiraḥ ||[1 ||] ⁶ Jayati Paçupati praj-
ādhināthō mahita-vapur-m-mahi-
- 4, mā mahā-varāhaḥ | iyam=api Bhagadatta-vatsa-mātā Dharanir
=anta⁷-narādhipa-pratiṣṭhā ||[2 ||] ⁸ Yad-vāri Rāma-para-
- 5, çōr=n=nṛpa-kaṅṭha-kāṇḍa-lāvasya dhauta-ghana-lōhita-paṅkam=āsīt |
Lauhitya ity=adhipatiḥ saritām
- 6, sa ēṣa Vrahm⁹-āṅga-bhūr=n=nudatu vaḥ kali-kalmaṣāṇi¹⁰ ||[3 ||]
Valgat-khura kṣubhita-bhīma-bhujāṅga-sadmā kalp-ā-
- 7, vasāna-dina-bhinna-samudra-mudrām | pātāla-paṅka-paṭal-ōdara-
sannilinām krōḍ-ā-
- 8, kṛtir=v=Vasutīm¹¹ Harir=ujjahāra || [4 ||] Daṁṣṭr-āṅkur-ōddhrta-
dharā-parirambha-garbha-sambhōga-sambhr-
- 9, ta-ras-ālasa-mānasasya | tasy=ātmajō narapatir=n=Narak-ābhidhā-
naḥ çrīmān=abhūd=bhuvana-va-
- 10, ndita-pāda-mūlaḥ [|| 5 ||] Ratna-prabhā-ruchiram=āspadam=ēva
Lakṣmāḥ¹² puṅy-ōpakaṅṭha-vilasad-vana-bhāri¹³ [1]
- 11, Prāgjyōtiṣam puram=apāra-yaçāḥ¹⁴ sajjair=v=vakṣaḥ-sthalam=pitur
=iv=āparam=adhyuvāsa ||[6 ||] Tasy=āpi

eastwards from the hamlet of Kāsī. Of course, it might be suggested that that path commenced at Mākhībāhā and ran in a northerly direction to the Kucī villages (or Kāsī), and then continued in a north-easterly direction, along the side of the land referred to in the grant, while its earlier portion (further south) did not touch that land at all.

¹ From the Original. In the photograph some of the compound letters do not show entirely.

² Metre : *Çārdūla-Vikrīditā*. Read *khatvāṅgaḥ*.

³ Here is a flaw in the Plate which makes the akṣara appear *dī*.

⁴ Read *kitava*. The metre shows that an akṣara is omitted.

⁵ Read *pratyarppitam*.

⁶ Metre : *Puṣpitāgrā*. Read *Paçupatiḥ*.

⁷ One akṣara is omitted ; read *ananta*.

⁸ Metre of verses 3-8 : *Vasanta-tilaka*.

⁹ Read *Brahma*.

¹⁰ Read *kalmaṣāṇi*.

¹¹ One akṣara is missing ; read *Vasumatīm*.

¹² Read *Lakṣmyāḥ*.

¹³ Here two akṣaras are omitted : read *bhāra-hāri*.

¹⁴ One akṣara omitted : insert *sa*.

- 12, sūnur=abhavad=Bhagadatta-nāmā viçrāma-bhūmir=akhilasya pitur
=g=guṇasya | satv¹⁵-ōddhṛtaḥ satata-
13, m=ūna-valē valiyān yaḥ pakṣa-pātam=akarōt=kṣata-vaira-pakṣa¹⁶
[7] Kaumr-ānvay-ōnnati-pada-pra-
14, thita-pratiṣṭhaḥ pṛthvī-bhujām vijayinām dhuri Vajradattaḥ dōr-
v-vajra-vīrjja¹⁷-paritō¹⁸

Second Plate: Obverse.

- 1, tōṣita-Vajrapāṇir=āsīd=amusya¹⁹-muṣit-āri-jaçās²⁰=tanujaḥ²¹ || [8]
²² Asm[i]n²³=ēva nṛp-ānvayē narapatih Çri-Vrahma⁹-
2, pālō 'bhavat tatmā²⁴ bhuvi Ratnapāla iti ca khyātaḥ kṣat-ārir=v=
vaçi²⁵ | asy=ānargha-guṇ-ākarasya mahimā rā-
3, jñas=tu kim=varṇyatyē²⁶ yaḥ çlāghyair=atidiçyatē²⁷ su-caritaiḥ
Rāmasya Kṛṣṇasya vā || [9] Samvadhā²⁸ vasudhā su-
4, dhā-dhavalitaiḥ Çambhu-pratiṣṭh-āspadair=yasya çrōtriya-mandirāni
vibhavair=n=nānā-prakārair=api | yūpair=yajña-
5, grh-āṅganāni haviṣām dhūmrair²⁹=n=nabhō-maṇḍalam yātrā-rēṇu-
bhir=arṇṇav-āmvu³⁰ vijaya-stambhaiç=ca sarvvā³¹ diçāḥ || [10]
³² Ā-
6, sīd=udāra-kīrttir³³=d=dātā bhōktā çuciḥ kalā-kuṣalaḥ [1] tasya Pu-
randarapālaḥ sūnuḥ çūraç=ca su-kavi-
7, ç=ca || [11] Kṛtam=atikautukam=a-sakṛn=mṛgayā rasikēna yēna
samarē'pi | kṣaṇa-viracita-

¹⁵ Read *sattv*.¹⁶ Read *pakṣaḥ*.¹⁷ Read *vīryya*.¹⁸ Between *pa* and *ri* there is a gap in the original plate, apparently caused by a flaw in the metal. Cancel the duplicate akṣara *tō*.¹⁹ Read *amusya*.²⁰ Read *yaçās*.²¹ Read *tanūjaḥ*, metri causa.²² Metre of verses 9 and 10: *Çārdūla-Vikrīḍitā*.²³ Read *asmin=n=ēva* metri causa. The vowel *i* is obliterated by the hammering of the rim.²⁴ Here one long akṣara is omitted: perhaps read *tat-sūnur=*²⁵ Read *vaçi*.²⁶ Read *kim varṇyatyē* or *kim=barnnyatē*.²⁷ Read *atidiçyatē*.²⁸ Read *sambaddhā*, metri causa.²⁹ Read *dhūmair*.³⁰ Read *āmbu*.³¹ Read *sarvvā*.³² Metre of verses 11 and 12: *Āryā*.³³ Read *kīrttir*.

- 8, çara-pañjara-vaddhai ripu-rāja-çaddūlaiḥ³⁴ || [12 ||]³⁵ Jāmadagnya-
bhujā-vikramāj=jita-prājya-rājya-nṛ-
9, pa-vam̃ça-sambhavām [1] Durllabh=ēti sa tu lōka-durllabhām
prāpya samyag=abhavata³⁶ kalatravā-
10, nām³⁷ || [13 ||]³⁸ Sac=īva Çakrasya Çiva³⁹ Çambhō Rati⁴⁰ Sma-
rasy=ēva Harēr=iva Çriḥ [1] sā Rōhiṇ=iva Kṣaṇadākarasya
11, tasy=ānurūpa-praṇayā vabhūva⁴¹ || [14 ||]⁴² Dēvaḥ prāci pradīpa⁴³
prakāṭa-vasumatī-maṇḍalah khaṇḍit-āri-
12, r=j=jātas=tābhyā⁴⁴ jit-ātmā naya-vinavatām⁴⁵ =agraṇir=Indrapā-
lah | yasmin simhāsana-sthē svayam=avani-bhṛ-
13, tām vaddha-sēv-āñjalīnām=āvarjjan=mauli-ratnaiḥ phalitam=iva
bhā⁴⁶ -kuṭṭimam̃ kiryamānaiḥ || [15 ||]³⁸ Su-vi-
14, str̃tānām pada-vākya-tarkka-tantra-pravāh-ātitarañginīnām⁴⁷ | yaḥ
sarvva-vidyā-saritām=a-gādham=auta⁴⁸=n=nima-
15, gnaç=ca gataç=ca pāram || [16 ||]⁴⁹ Svarggam̃ gatē pitari yasya
yaçah-çarirē [?] pautrasya putra-[]na[— ∪ ∪]

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 1, [— ∪ — —] | [— — ∪ — ∪ ∪ —] na guṇ-ānurūpam=aty-
arppitā svayam=avan⁵⁰=nija-rājya-lakṣmīḥ || [17 ||] Yasmin
=nr̃pē vinaya-vikrama-bhāji ṅga⁵¹
2, samyag-vibhakta-catur-āçrama-varuṇa-dharmmā | anandini⁵² çaka-
la⁵³-kāmādughā prajānām pṛthvī pṛthōḥ punar=iva prathit-ōday
=āsī⁵⁴ || [18 ||]

³⁴ Read *çārddūlaiḥ*.

³⁵ Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.

³⁶ Read *abhavat*.

³⁷ Read *kalatravān*.

³⁸ Metre: *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*.

³⁹ One akṣara omitted: read *Çiv=ēva*.

⁴⁰ Read *Ratiḥ*.

⁴¹ Read *babhūva*.

⁴² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁴³ Read *pradīpaḥ*.

⁴⁴ Read *tābhyām*.

⁴⁵ One akṣara is omitted; read *vinayavatām*.

⁴⁶ One akṣara omitted: read *sabhā*.

⁴⁷ Read *ātitarañginīnām*.

⁴⁸ Read *antar=n*.

⁴⁹ Metre of verses 17 and 18: *Vasantatilakā*. Portions of this verse are illegible.

⁵⁰ Mutilated for *abhavan*; but read *abhūn*, metri causa.

⁵¹ Here one akṣara is missing: perhaps read *tuygē*.

⁵² Read *ānandinī*.

⁵³ Read *sakala*.

⁵⁴ Read *āsī*.

- 3, ³² Kari-turaga-ratna-pūrṇā rājñas=tasy=ānurūpa-guṇa-vasatiḥ [1]
 nṛpati-ku⁵⁶-durjjay=āsīn=nagarī Ṣri-durjjayā nāma ॥[19 ॥]
⁵⁶ Prāgjyō-
- 4, tis⁵⁷ - ādhipaty - asaṁkhyāt - āpratihata - daṇḍa - kṣapit - āçēṣa - ripu-
 pakṣa - çri - vārāha-paramēçvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj-ād-
 hirā-
- 5, ja-çri - **Ratnapāla**- varmma-dēva - pādānudhyāta - paramēçvara-para-
 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārāj - ādhirāja - çri-mad-**Indrapāla** - varmma-
 dēva⁵⁸
- 6, kuçalī ॥ Uttara-kūlē Hapyōma-viṣay-āntaḥpāti-Kāsī-pāṭaka-bhavi-
 ṣā - bhūmya - pakṣa - ṣṭa⁵⁹ - dhānya - catu⁶⁰ - sahasr - oṭpattika - bhū-
 mau |
- 7, tathā-pūrvva-samupasthita-viṣaya-ra-karaṇa⁶¹ - vyāvahārika-pramu-
 kha-jānapadān rāja-rājñī-rāṇak-ādihikṛtān=anyā-⁶²
- 8, pi rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛtīn yathākāla-bhāvinō'pi
 sarvvān mānanā-pūrvvakam samādi-
- 9, çati vēditam=astu bhavatām bhūmir=iyam | vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-
 jala-gōpracār-āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathāsam-
- 10, sthā sva-sīm-ōddēça-paryantā hasti-vandha-naukā-vandha-caud-
 dharāṇa⁶³ - daṇḍapāç - oṭparikara - nānā - nimitt - oṭkhēṭana - hasty-
 açv-ō-
- 11, ṣṭra-gō-mahiṣī-jātika-pracāra-prabhṛtīnām⁶⁴=vinivārīta-sarvva-pīḍā
 çāsanī-kṛtya ॥ ⁶⁵ Āsīt Kāçyapa-gōtrō 'tipavitō⁶⁶ mi-
- 12, tra-vatsalah | yajurvvedī guṇ-ādihārō Haripāla iti dvijaḥ ॥[1 ॥]
 Sūtaḥ Çavarapāl-ākhyātaḥ sadma⁶⁶-vimatsaraḥ | abhavad=
 bhava-
- 13, niṣṭhasya⁶⁶ dvijanmā māninām⁶⁷=varaḥ ॥[2 ॥] Saukhyāyik=ēti tasy
 =ābhūt paricaryā-sukha-pradā | āy-ācārasya⁶⁸ s-ācārā patnī gu-

⁵⁵ Here one akṣara is missing : read *kula*.

⁵⁶ From here pro-e.

⁵⁷ Read *Prāgjyōtiṣā...*

⁵⁸ Read *dēvaḥ*.

⁵⁹ Read *stha*.

⁶⁰ Read *catuḥ*.

⁶¹ Read *sa-karaṇa*.

⁶² One akṣara is omitted : read *anyān=a-*

⁶³ Read *caurōddharāṇa*.

⁶⁴ Read *prabhṛtīnām vinivārīta*.

⁶⁵ Metre of verses 1-5 : *Çlōka*.

⁶⁶ The reading is doubtful.

⁶⁷ Read *māninām varaḥ*. Probably faulty for *mauninām*.

⁶⁸ Read *āry-ācārasya*.

- 14, navatī satī || [3 ||] Dēcapāla iti snigdha-vandhūnām kṛta-pālanah |
tābhyām jāto dvijō 'cēṣa-guṇa-ratna-nidhiḥ sudhi⁶⁹ [4 ||]
15, Čācanī⁷⁰-kr̥tya bhūr=ēsā⁷¹ tasmai duskara⁷²-čāsinē |⁷³ dvijāya dattā
yattāya rājyē 'ṣṭama-samē mayā || ❄ || [5 ||]

Third Plate : Obverse.

- 1, Asyā⁷⁴simā pūrvvēṇa kōṣṭha-mākkhi-yāna villa-pūrvvaḥ kūlam⁷⁵
kūntavita-khambhavā-satka-makuti-makkhi-yāna-hasī
2, kṣētr-āliḥ=ca | pūrvva-dakṣiṇēna tad-bhū | kūntavita-lākkhyavā-
bhōga-Kāsī-pāṭaka bhūmyōḥ⁷⁶ simni vṛhad-āliḥ | dakṣiṇē-
3, na tad-bhū-simni vṛhad-āliḥ | uttara-ga | paçcīma-ga-vakṣēṇa⁷⁷
Svalpadyati-kaivarttānām bhōga-dīrghā-kōṣṭhē⁷⁸ bhū-
4, simni kṣētr-ālī | vaṃça-stūpa-trayañ=ca | dakṣiṇa-paçcimēna tad-
bhū-simni Digumma-nadī | uttara-ga-va-
5, krēṇa tad-bhū-simni s=aiva=nadī | pūrvva-ga | uttara-vakrēṇa
kōṣṭha-Kāsī⁷⁹-pāṭaka bhū-simni kṣētr-ālī | paçcīma-ga-va-
6, krēṇa tad-bhū-simni vāstv-āliḥ | paçcimēna Digumma-nadī
paçcim-ōttarēṇa s=aiva=nadī
7, uttarēṇa Tathāgata-kārit-Āditya-bhaṭāraka⁸⁰-satka-çāsana-Bhaviṣā
bhū-simni kṣētr-ā-
8, li-sthal-ākhōṭaka-vṛkṣa | paçupati-kārita-puṣkiriṇī⁸¹-dakṣi pātṭau⁸² |
kṣētr-āliḥ=ca | u⁸³.
9, uttara-pūrvvēṇa tad-bhū | kōṣṭha mākkhi-yāna || villa-pūrvvaḥ
kūlañ=c=ēti || ❄ ||

The Seal.

- 1, Svasti Prāgjyōtiṣ-ādhipati-ma-
2, hārāj-ādhirāja-çrī-ma-
3, d-Indrapāla⁸⁴-varmma-dēvaḥ [||]

⁶⁹ Read *sudhīḥ*.

⁷⁰ Read *çāsanī*.

⁷¹ Read *ēsā*.

⁷² Read *duṣkara*.

⁷³ This half-verse scans irregularly.

⁷⁴ Read *asyāḥ*.

⁷⁵ Read *kūlam*.

⁷⁶ Read *bhūmyāḥ*.

⁷⁷ Read *vakrēṇa*.

⁷⁸ Reading uncertain ; perhaps *kōṣṭha*.

⁷⁹ Usually *Kāsī*.

⁸⁰ Read *bhaṭṭāraka*.

⁸¹ Read *puṣkariṇī*.

⁸² Perhaps read *dakṣiṇa-pūrçvē*.

⁸³ Delete the duplicate *u*.

⁸⁴ The vowel *i* is attached to the lower part of the akṣara *d*.

TRANSLATION.

(First Plate : line 1) Hail !

(Verse 1.) “ Having won to-day the whole of thy property, (*viz.*) club, axe, bull, crescent and the rest, oh gamester ! I return it to thee again : only let me retain Gaṅgā to serve me as a water-carrier.”¹ At this speech of Gaurī, Çambhu’s head bowed for shame at his defeat in the game of dice. May he be glorious !

(2.) May Paçupati be glorious, the lord of the creation, (who is) the famous great Boar of a wonderful bodily form : and she also, the Earth, who is the residence of innumerable kings, and the mother of him (*i.e.*, Naraka), whose son is Bhagadatta.²

(3.) That king of rivers which is born of the body of Brahmā and is called Lauhitya (or bloody), because its waters were stained with the copious blood (*lōhita*) that was washed off Rāma’s axe after it had cut off heaps of necks of kings,—may it also wipe off your stains (contracted) in this sinful age.³

(4.) Hari, in the shape of a boar, disturbing and frightening the abode of the Snakes with his bounding hoofs, uplifted the Earth which was stuck fast in the depths of the mire of the nether-world, after having sunk in the seas cleft asunder on the day of universal dissolution.

(5.) Of him, whose mind was faint with pleasure obtained from the embrace and sexual enjoyment of the Earth as she was borne up on the points of his tusks, there came to be an excellent son, the king named Naraka, the soles of whose feet were adored by all the world.

(6.) He, in boundless glory and with every circumstance of pomp, held court in the town of Prāgjyōtiṣa, which was (to him) like a second bosom of his father, and which, in its fine environment of delightfully dense woods, appeared like Lakṣmī’s seat brilliant with luminous jewels.

(7.) His son was Bhagadatta, full of goodness, who was the repository of all the virtues of his father, and, being strong himself, always took the side of the weak.

(8.) His son was Vajradatta, who widely upheld, among the conquering princes, the prestige of the Kaumra dynasty,

(Second Plate, obverse) in that he pleased Vajrapāṇi by the adamant strength of his arms, and gathered fame by his raids on his enemies.

¹ Gaurī and Gaṅgā are the two wives of Çiva, and so they are jealous of each other.

² See below verses 5-7.

³ *Lauhitya* is another name of the river Brahmaputra. The story of its birth is quoted in the new edition of the Çabdakalpadrūma, from the Kālikā Purāṇa (84th Adhyāya of the Jāmadagnya Upakhyāna), under the word *lauhitya*. Amōghā,

(9.) It was his dynasty, to which belonged king **Brahmapāla**, and his son **Ratnapāla** who was known in the world as the mighty crusher of enemies. How is it possible to describe the greatness of this king, the possessor of priceless virtues, who emulated the renowned good deeds of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa :

(10.) Who studded the earth with white-washed temples enshrining Çambhu, the houses of learned men with various kinds of wealth, the sacrificial courtyards with immolating posts, the skies with the smoke of burnt-offerings, the waters of the sea with the dust of his marching armies, and all the quarters (of the earth) with the pillar-monuments of his victories ?

(11.) His son was **Purandarpāla**, a ruler of wide renown, liberal, jovial, pious, and accomplished in all arts, a hero as well as a poet :

(12.) Who being passionately fond of the chase, gave more than once extraordinary proofs of it by the way in which he captured hostile kings, like tigers, in nettings of arrows improvised for the occasion.

(13.) He had the distinction of obtaining for wife the (princess) Durlabhā,⁴ such a one as is truly difficult to obtain in the world, who was descended from the royal races of the extensive kingdoms conquered by the victorious arms of Jamadagni's son (Paraçurāma).

(14.) As Sacī is to Çakra (or Indra), Çivā (or Parvatī) to Çambhu (or Çiva), Rati to Smara (the love-god), Çrī (or Lakshmī) to Hari (or Viṣṇu), and as Rōhiṇī is to Kṣaṇadākara (or Candra, the moon), such a loving wife was she to him.

(15.) Of them was born **Indrapāla**, a king who kept a control over himself, and was foremost among the just and righteous, who vanquished (all) his enemies, and who like the light of the East (*i.e.*, the sun) illumined the (whole) terrestrial globe : before whom, when he sat on his throne, the mosaic floor of his audience-hall looked like a fruit-covered tree by reason of the strewn-about jewels (that fell) from the

the wife of the sage Çāntanu, was directed by her husband to conceive by the God Brahmā. Her progeny was born in the form of water, and placed by the sage in the middle of four mountains, where it grew into a lake. In its waters Paraçurāma cleansed himself from his sin of matricide, which done, he cut with his axe a channel, through which the waters flowed into India in the form of a river. The presumption is—though the story does not say so—that the lake and river are called *lauhitya* 'red,' 'bloody,' from Paraçurāma having washed off his bloody stains in its waters. It may be noted, however, that, according to our legend, it was the slaughter of the Kṣatriya kings from which Paraçurāma cleansed himself in the lake. According to the version of the Bhagavat Purāna, Paraçurāma formed a dreadful river with the blood of the slain Kṣatriyas, and afterwards he cleansed himself in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahmā (see J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 458, 459).

⁴ The meaning of the name is 'difficult to obtain.'

crowns of the princes as they voluntarily stood reverently bowing (before him) with joined hands :

(16.) Who dived into and passed across the deep and broad streams of all knowledges, the dashing waves of which are the sciences of words, sentences, arguments and doctrines.

(17.) After his father had gone to heaven in a halo of glory of his grandchild the son.....

(Second Plate : reverse).....the fortune of his own kingdom was voluntarily delivered, in accordance with his virtues.⁵

(18.) During the righteous and victorious reign of this king, the earth was happy and greatly flourishing, and became the cow that yields all desires to men, as in the time of Pṛthu, because the laws of the four āçramas (or periods of life) and of the four castes were observed in their proper divisions.

(19.) This king had a residence of corresponding virtues,⁶ a town full of elephants, horses, and jewels, and impregnable to (the attacks of) any royal dynasty, whence it was named Çri-Durjayā.

(Second Plate : line 4) The *Paramēçvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Indrapāla** Varma-dēva, who meditates at the feet of the lord of Prāggyōtiṣa, the illustrious *Vārāha*,⁷ the *Paramēçvara*, *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārāj-ādhirāja*, the illustrious **Ratnapāla** Varma-dēva, who overthrew and inflicted punishment on all his innumerable enemies,⁸ may he prosper!

(Line 6.) With reference to the land bearing four-thousand (measures of) rice, and lying by the side of the land belonging to the Bhaviṣā of the hamlet⁹ of Kāsī, situated within the district¹⁰ of Hapyōma, in the northern part of the country, he sends his greetings and commands to all who reside near the afore-said fields, *viz.*, the accountants,¹¹ traders and other (common) people of the district, as well

⁵ This verse is mutilated and not intelligible, but from what follows below, it appears that the verse stated that Purandarapāla died without succeeding to the throne, and that Ratnapāla was followed on the throne by his grandchild Indrapāla.

⁶ One would rather expect the reading *guṇ-ānurūpa*. The name Durjayā means 'difficult to conquer.'

⁷ *I.e.*, one who is a boar (*varāha*) like Viṣṇu.

⁸ The reading is here rather obscure. Perhaps *pratihata* should be read for *apratihata*.

⁹ On *pāṭaka*, 'hamlet,' see *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 135.

¹⁰ With reference to the term *viṣaya* or district, I may note that Mr. Gait informs me that "the local revenue officials, commonly known as Mauzādārs are also in parts still called *Bisayās* or *Patgirīs*."

¹¹ The word *ra-karaṇa* of the original is faulty for *sa-karaṇa*, which also occurs in the Dharmapāla grant, published by Mr. Batavyal in this *Journal*, Vol. LXIII for 1894, p. 57 (line 48) and p. 50, footnote 16. *Karaṇa* is a synonym of *Kāyastha*.

as those who hold the rank of *Rāja*, *Rājñī*, *Rāṇaka*, and others, such as *Rājanyas*, *Rājaputras* and *Rājavallabhas*,¹² and all who may hold any rank from time to time.

(Line 9). Be it known to you, that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all worries on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenant's taxes,¹³ the imposts for various causes, and the pasturing of animals such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, and buffalos, as set forth in this charter¹⁴:—

(Line 11, verse 1.) There was a Yajurvēdī brāhman, named Haripāla of the Kāçyapa gōtra, very pure,¹⁵ kind to friends, and possessed of every virtue.

(2.) That excellent man had a son, called Çavarapāla, who was unambitious of position, a (truly) twice-born man and most highly respected.

(3.) This noble man had a wife, called Saukhyāyikā, who was well-conducted, virtuous and chaste, who gave pleasure (to her husband) by her devotion (to him).

(4.) Of them was born the brāhman Dēçapāla, wise and full of every virtue, and mindful of services done to him by his friends and relations.

(5.) To that brāhman, who is austere and observes difficult ordinances, that land, as set forth in this charter, is given by me in the eighth year of my reign.

(Third Plate: first line.) ¹⁶ Its boundaries (are as follows:) on the east, there are the Mākkhi-path¹⁷ to the granary with the pond in front of

¹² These terms signify various degrees of hereditary or official rank, and have no exact equivalents in English. *Rāja* is not a 'king.' *Rājñī* is literally a 'queen.' *Rāṇa*, a prākritic form of *rāja*, is a still existing title.

¹³ *Upari-kara* is a fiscal term: the rent or tax (*kara*) paid by an *uparī* or tenant who does not reside or has no occupancy-rights in the land. See Bühler's remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, p. 66.

¹⁴ The sentence, which breaks off here, is resumed in verse 5, below.

¹⁵ The reading *atipavitō* is not very satisfactory. The second akṣara *pa* is indistinct.

¹⁶ This statement of the boundaries is full of vernacular terms, which I do not fully understand.

¹⁷ *Yāna* also occurs repeatedly in the Dharmapāla grant published by Mr. Bata-vyal, who translates it with "water-course." See *ante*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 49, 55 (lines 33, 38). Thus we have *āmra-yāna* (l. 38) 'the road (lined) with mango-trees.' *Makkhi* or *mākkhi* might be the same as the Hindī *makkī* or *makai* 'Indian corn,'

it, and an embankment, also the Hasī of the Makkhi-path (established) by the still extant edict (engraved) on the Kūntavita pillar, and the ridge of the fields. On the south-east of the land, there are the hamlet of Kāsī on the Kūntavita Lakkhyavā property, and, along the boundary of the land, the big dike. On the south, along the boundary of the land, is the big dike. At the bend to the north and west, there are the big granary on the property of the Svalpadyati fishermen, and, along the boundary of the land, the ridge of fields, also three clumps of bamboos. On the south-west, along the boundary of the land, there is the river Digumma. At the bend to the north, along the boundary of the land, there is the same river. At the bend to the east and the north, there are the granary belonging to the hamlet of Kāsī, and, along the boundary of the land, the ridge of the fields. At the bend to the west, along the boundary of the land, there is a row of houses. On the west, there is the river Digumma. On the north-west, there is the same river. On the north, there are the Bhaviṣā with the still existing charter of the holy Āditya (or Sun-god) made by Tathāgata, and, along the boundary of the land, a walnut tree on a dry spot on the ridge of the fields, on the south side¹⁸ of the tank made by Paçupati, as well as a ridge of fields. On the north-east of that land, there are the granary, with the Mākkhi-path and the pond in front of it, as well as an embankment.

The Seal.

Hail! The lord of Prāggyōtiṣa, the Mahārāj-ādhirāja, the illustrious Indrapāla Varma-dēva.

'maize'; hence *makkhi-yāna* 'the road lined with maize (-fields). But it may be questioned whether maize was known in India in those early times. Or the true reading might be *makkhiyāna-villa-pūrva*, '(the granary) with the pond of Makhānā in front of it.' *Makkhiyāna* might be another form of *makkhānā* which is *Euryale ferox*.

¹⁸ I can make nothing satisfactory of *dakṣi pāttau*. It may be a combined error of the scribe and the engraver, and may be intended for *dakṣiṇa-pārçvê*. The two akṣaras *tau* and *çvê* are not altogether unlike one another.